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173 appetite is such that he can consume three animals daily. Many years ago a fire laid waste the temple of Sa-ddo and the clay figure (PLATE 62) representing Sa-ddo was damaged. Embedded in the clay figure was found a manuscript, only parts of which were decipherable; these were copied and kept by the caretaker of the temple. Excerpts of this manuscript were printed in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* (1743) Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b. It represents part of the legend and historical notes entitled:

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE ESTEEMED PRAYERS OF THE GREAT SACRED SNOWY STONE OF THE PEI-YO TEMPLE, ON WHICH WAS CONFERRED BY IMPERIAL DECREE THE HONORARY TITLE OF *TING-KUO AN-PANG-CHING-TI* 定國安邦敬帝 (AUSPICIOUS GOD OF NATIONAL PEACE)

"In the reign of the Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 and the period Ta-li 大曆 (766–779) of the T'ang dynasty, I-mou-hsün, appointed by Imperial order king of the Nan-chao Kingdom, conferred on thee the most respectful title of *Ta-sheng Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖北嶽定國安邦敬帝 (Great sacred Pei-yo, auspicious god of national peace).[22] Originally, thy spirit descended to us from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[23] Thy body was covered with white armour; thy head wore a white helmet; thy hand held a white spear; beneath thy feet thou didst ride a white horse. Thou camest from the north-west direction. On arrival at the border of our district, thy behavior was quite unusual. At that time there lived a king, to whom thou didst say, 'You should offer sacrifice to me, and you will then be greatly benefited by it. However, every day I require a sacrifice of three animals.'

"That king did as he was bidden, but no benefit came to him. His wife privately murmured, saying, 'Since this man came to our kingdom, all our cattle are being consumed. Now we see nothing good has happened to us. What profit have we obtained by offering sacrifice to him?' Meanwhile, the god appeared to the king, and said, 'Your family worships me, and I intended that half the kings of the whole world should reverence you as their king. Why have you murmured, and said that all your cattle were going to be consumed? Now I am going back to Yü-lung Shan. All the cattle and the paper money you have offered to me, will be returned to you with honor.' After so saying, he disappeared like a whirlwind. All the animals and paper money, which the king had offered to him, were returned in their original condition, and were

[22] In the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b, it states that when Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Mongol dynasty (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈, or Kublai Khan) attacked Ta-li coming from Li-chiang, he conferred on the white rock which represents the god or spirit Sa-ddo the name of *Hsüeh-shih Pei-yo an-pang-ching-ti* 雪石北嶽安邦敬帝.

[23] Chia-k'uan-ti is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name, Gya-aw-dü. A literal translation of the name means "water collect land," the word *gya* really standing for *gyi*, water. The character 加 is read by the Na-khi, *gya* or *gyu*, and is always used in transcribing such syllables in Na-khi names. The character *k'uan* has been selected not for its phonetic value, but for its meaning, of vast, spacious, truly descriptive of the region. The Tibetans call it the Gya-de, according to SARAT CHANDRA DAS (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, p. 205), which extends from the high road of Nagchhukha to Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su. (*See* note 21, page 193.)

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even multiplied tenfold. All the people were much surprised at this, and none of them could explain its meaning. Thenceforth that kingdom became weaker day by day. Its people then began to understand that the stranger was a god, and they realized that their repentance came too late.

"In the meantime, the same stranger appeared in a dream to Mai-tsung 麥琮[24] and said, 'Mai-tsung, Mai-tsung, my name is San-to 三多 [Sa-ddo, Sa-tham]. I was originally the spirit of the northern regions. I come from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti for the purpose of helping you in your battles. You are an upright southerner and have expressed your sincere desire to benefit your kingdom. Whenever you go to battle, I shall come to help you. Don't be double-minded.' After saying these words, he changed himself into a white musk-deer, and was gone like a whirlwind.

"Thenceforth, every time that Mai-tsung was on the battlefield, there appeared suddenly a man, of stalwart demeanor, who was dressed in white armour, wore a white helmet, held a white spear in his hand, and, mounted on a white horse, rushed furiously in the front line of battle. When the fighting was crowned with victory, there would come a whirlwind, and a great rainstorm, casting so deep a shadow over the whole land that nothing could be seen. Later on, the same man would occasionally appear in the magistrate's yamen, and secretly assist Mai-tsung.

"Again, at certain times there appeared and disappeared a white musk-deer in the valleys of the Yü-lung Shan. When Mai-tsung went hunting, he saw it, and would let his hunting dogs fly after it. They would chase it till the midday meal, when it would disappear, and nothing more would be seen of it. This happened repeatedly. The musk-deer could be neither caught or trapped, nor could its track be discovered. However, one day his hounds stopped and surrounded a white stone, which surprised all the people very much, and they wondered. They then lifted this white stone on to their backs, but it was as light as paper. However, half-way down the mountain, they put it on the ground, and rested a little while. Afterwards, they found that it suddenly had become as heavy as 1,000 catties, and they could not move it at all. Meanwhile, they took some rice and garlic out of their travelling-bags, and offered it as a sacrifice to the stone, and prayed saying, 'Here is not the right place for a spirit to stay. We wish your weight would become light again.' It then actually became as light as before. Once more they carried it on their backs to the place where the present temple has been built, and there it again became so heavy that nobody could lift it.

"After the temple was completed, the Mu family became very prosperous; their territory became very extensive; all tribes turned in allegiance to them; all people were content with their lot. So numerous were the sacrifices to this rock that there was no moment when offerings were not being made. During the time when Kublai Khan, the Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Yüan dynasty, personally led his troops to conquer Ta-li, the spirit of this white rock often came to help him in battle, therefore he conferred on it by an Imperial order the honorary title of *Ta-sheng hsüeh-shih Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-li* 大聖雪石北嶽定國安邦景帝.

[24] Mai-tsung is identical with Mou-pao A-tsung, second of the Na-khi chiefs, who ruled in Li-chiang during the reign of the Emperor Li Tsung 理宗 (1225–1264).

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The Pei-yo Temple. — The Pei-yo Temple is of Chinese architecture, with nothing to distinguish it from other temples. Over the main entrance are four large wooden tablets with the following characters engraved on them: En P'u San-to 恩溥三多 = Gracious all-pervading San-to (Sa-ddo). The characters were written by the Na-khi calligrapher Huang Ch'i-hsi 黃耆熙 a native of Pai-sha-kai. The building is in bad repair, and often Tibetan families live in its spacious but ruined courts. In the main court is a huge bronze incense-burner (presented by the Mu family in the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1619), in which worshippers burn pieces of juniper wood as offerings to Sa-ddo. The main figure in the central shrine, behind a screen, is a sitting statue of Sa-ddo with a black beard, very much like some of the Chinese gods; the two female figures represent: on his left his wife, on his right his concubine (PLATE 62). Over the central shrine are two *pien-lien* 匾聯 or horizontal inscriptions tablet. The upper one reads: Yu-hsien fu-te 佑賢輔德 (Show favor to the worthy and aid the virtuous). The lower one bears only two characters Hsüeh-liang 雪亮 (Bright as snow). To the left of the central altar on which Sa-ddo sits enthroned stands a square, box-like shrine, black with age and soot. In it is the figure of a hunter, Aw-bpu gkaw-dti by name. His aspect is that of a fierce dog charging, upright, but with body bent forward and wearing a spiked helmet. Tradition relates that it was he who carried from the mountain the white stone, on which the figure of Sa-ddo now sits.

After bad dreams people will come before Aw-bpu gkaw-dti's shrine and, prostrating themselves, beseech him not to send such dreams — although a good look at the figure in the black shrine is enough in itself to cause them, so fierce and ferocious is its expression. He is said to have been Mai-tsung's hunter. He was a native of Dü-gkv mbe-gkyi, a small Na-khi hamlet to the south-west of Dü-gkv, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range. His descendants used to take care of the temple until recently, when they were barred by the Mu family, who listened to slander spread by bad elements of Dü-gkv village.

173 In the two lateral buildings flanking the outer court, embedded in the crumbling walls, are two marble stones, one dating back to 1535 and inscribed by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung (1494–1553), the other to 1748, giving an account of the miraculous deeds and apparition of Sa-ddo.

The first memorial stone. — This stone (dated 1535) reads as follows:

"Record of rebuilding temple of Pei-yo, the North sacred Mountain.

"The North sacred Mountain is another name for the Jade-dragon, the snow mountain. This majestic snow mountain is a great spectacle to the whole of Yün-nan. Its spirit or vapor is godly. When the vapor is clear, the spirit manifests itself supernaturally. When the spirit is miraculous, the people become heroic. Now our Mu family has hereditarily guarded Li-chiang. Is this not due to the endowment of the sacred mountain and the nourishment of the spirit? Oh! Glorious is the sacred mountain! It is covered with snow throughout the four seasons and stands like a piece of jade 10,000 jen 萬仞 high. Is this not a spectacle for the whole of Yün-nan to look at?

"In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大歷 of Tai Tsung 代宗 of the great

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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inkabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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of pine logs, and regular row-boats large enough to ferry horses to the island of Nyo-ro-p'u are in use.

Across the Yung-ning plain, at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu, facing west towards the Yung-ning Lamasery, is the larger hamlet of Dze-mbu.[6] Here another relation of the T'u-ssu, also bearing the family name A 阿, has his residence. Originally this family supplied the Tsung-kuans 總管 of Yung-ning. Owing to the degeneracy of their line, which produced no more capable administrators, the office of Tsung-kuan was conferred on the late A Yün-shan. As a young man he took the vow of celibacy, entered the lamasery and became a monk or Gelong (dGe-slong). He studied for six years in Ga-den Lamasery[7] near Lhasa but returned afterwards to Yung-ning and becoming once more a layman he married and took up the administration of the Yung-ning prefecture.

5. LAMAIST CELEBRATIONS

There are several other smaller hamlets along the slopes of Seng-ge ga-mu, as well as a shrine, which is situated on the southern end, facing west. The shrine is dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (Seng-ge dKar-mo). Every year on New Year's Day, the lamas of Yung-ning, under the leadership of the abbot of the lamasery, betake themselves to the shrine where they chant the classic of this goddess; there they burn large piles of fresh juniper and pine branches, producing the huge clouds of white smoke so pleasing to the goddess. After the chanting of the classic the lamas line up in front of the shrine, a tall, square block of solid masonry with a picture of the goddess on the west side of the square, and after a few words of prayer call out in unison *"SSo sso sso sso la."* At the same time they throw handfuls of *tsamba* up to the shrine, this being the New Year's offering to the mountain goddess and patroness of Yung-ning. At great lamaist festivals as well as on the first day of the first Chinese moon the Yung-ning chiefs distribute presents to both the lamas and peasants. The presents consist mainly of tea, butter, and slices of what might be termed bacon. It is, however, not real bacon as we would understand it. It consists of cross-strips of a boneless, meatless pig which the Na-khi call *Bu-chĕr*; the Chinese speak of it as P'i-p'a jou 琵琶肉 or lute pork, on account of its shape. (PLATE 241). Only pigs weighing over 200 catties are used; the pig when killed is prepared in the usual way but afterwards all or practically all the meat is removed, leaving only the fat attached to the skin. The inside is then thoroughly salted and the pig sewn together and kept for about 10 years. Immense quantities of such pigs are kept in the store rooms of the Na-khi chiefs. They are often used as

[6] In Tibetan the place is called rDze-hbo and in Chinese Che-po 者波.
In the center of the village is a small lamasery called Dze-bo dar-gye-ling (rDze-hbo dar-rgyas gling རྫེ་བོ་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་). It does not belong to the same sect as the Yung-ning Lamasery, that is the Yellow (Gelug-pa) or Reformed sect, but to the Sa-skya-pa or Sakya sect (Tawny earth). Its first monastery was founded in Western Tibet in 1071.

[7] The full name of this lamasery is dGah-ldan rNam-par rGyal-wahi gling (Continent of completely victorious happiness དགའ་ལྡན་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་གླིང་). It is 75 li east-north-east of Lhasa.

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BOOK I—DOMESTIC

CHAPTER I.

BIRTHS, 生產 *shêng ch'an, etc.*

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WHEN the birth is delayed it is put down to Lo Hou 羅睺, and the master of the house fires a gun over his shoulder towards the heavens to drive away the evil influences. These influences are believed to come from the *t'ien-kou hsing* 天狗星 or heavenly Dog-star. In some houses a picture of Chang kung 張公 is hung up; he is depicted as carrying a sling and stones; he is supposed to throw at this heavenly dog which comes to devour the expected child. It is said that Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠 was an incarnation of this heavenly Dog-star, which is also the devourer of the moon in lunar eclipses.

To take away or escort the blood demon 送血鬼 *sung hsüeh kuei*, or demon of birth-pangs *ch'an-nan kuei* 產難鬼, is the work of a sorcerer, and many incantations are practised and charms used to assist the birth; the ceremony may take place a few days before the birth is expected.

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The washing of the baby is deferred till the third day; this is called *shao san* 燒三 or *hsi san* 洗三. When the child is born it is simply wound in calico till the third day, when it is washed. This is said to be for fear the navel cord will not dry off, and will thus cause the death of the child.

If a man's heavy foot comes near the bedroom, it is feared the mother's milk may be driven away. A locked padlock is always kept on the outside of the bedroom door to prevent the milk leaving—*fang jin tai nai* 防人帶奶. At such times no member of the household will visit a house of mourning; and no person in mourning or pregnant is allowed to carry the child, for fear its spirit may be called away.

The father of the child goes to the home of his father-in-law with a present of meat, incense and paper money, pays his respects to all the elder generation, and finally worships at their ancestral shrine. This ceremony, called *pao hsi* 報喜, is only performed for the first-born.

Soon after the birth the father worships at his ancestral shrine, *pai tsu tsung* 拜祖宗, giving thanks that another generation has been born to carry on the ancestral rites.

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On the birth of the first grandson the grandfather takes round to particular friends some eggs which have been stained red, 紅蛋 *hung tan*, by being boiled in ochre water. This is not done at the birth of a grand-daughter.

Eggs are brought as a present to the mother, and at such times a woman guages her happiness by the number of eggs she eats. In ordinary families a present of 20 or 30 eggs is quite common, but among the rich the number rises to 500 or even 1,000. A proverb says, "The male looks forward to going to the market, but the female to sitting in her room" 男子望赶場, 女人望坐房, that is, for a good time of feeding up. The mother is really expected to stay for a month in the house, *tso yueh* 坐月, or *tso ts'ao* 坐草, (because she likes to sit on something soft); and she is exempted from all out-door labour.

Besides the gifts of eggs and chickens for her eating, there are presents for the child,—shoes, hats, bangles and pinafores, varying in value according to the status of the family. In well-to-do circles presents of silver, ten to one hundred taels, are sent from the wife's home, to buy clothing and luxuries for the new grandson.

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The goddess of Mercy, Kuan-Yin 觀音, who gives sons to her worshippers *sung tsŭ niang-niang* 送子娘娘, also called *san p'o niang-niang* 三婆娘娘 *or san hsiao* 三霄, is believed to be in the house for the first three days after the confinement; at the end of this time the father makes her an offering of wine, incense and paper, behind the bedroom door, where the goddess is supposed to lodge.

At the end of ten days the the father's mother and other relatives are invited to a feast, and presents of rice, eggs and chickens are brought to the family.

At the end of a month a feast is given, called *t'ang ping* (or *mi* or *yüeh*) *chiu* 湯餅 (or 米 or 月)酒; all those who have given presents are invited. After this the mother may go to the kitchen or the well; before this many will not speak to her, and Buddhist devotees are especially fearful about doing so.

After fulfilling forty days, *man sŭ-shih t'ien* 滿四十天, the mother may visit her friends and show off the baby. In complimenting the parents it is safe to say that the baby is ugly 醜, or to use any other derogatory terms, so that the demons will not want it.

Having fulfilled 120 days the mother may go to the temple and give thanks to the idols.

At the end of the first year 滿週歲 *man chou sui*, the mother-in-law sends presents to the child. The old custom of this season was to lay before the child objects representing different occupations in life, and his training would afterwards be directed according to the object he grasped. This was called *chua nien* 抓年, grasping the year.

The above are some of the customs connected with ordinary cases. Women who are barren or son-less employ various methods to obtain such issue.

They beg a prayer-tally, 求簽 *ch'iu ch'ien* from a particular idol, take it home and keep it on the family altar. These tallies are notched pieces of bamboo, kept at the idol shrine for divination purposes.

They become vegetarians; this often means that they also distribute much rice to the poor. There are many kinds of vegetarian vows, such as *Kuan-yin chai* 觀音齋, (kept on the 9th, or by some on the 2nd, 6th and 9th, of each month);

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the gold radical in his name or someone with plenty of the gold element in his horoscope will be asked to be surety. Or butchers, priests, scholars and military men are invited if the elements show a weakness in those directions. 787 842

In cases where the marriage date has proved unlucky 年月不吉 *nien-yüeh pu chi*, the whole process of finding a lucky day and holding the marriage ceremony is gone through again, that sons may be born.

When the unfitness is in the girl's horoscope, making the union unlucky, friends set to work to prove that her nativity characters 八字 *pa tzŭ* have been incorrect from birth, 婚頭錯了 *hun t'ou ts'o-liao;* a change is made and the marriage ceremony is gone through a second time.

A barren woman goes to the temple of the goddess of Mercy, *sung tzŭ Kuan-Yin* 送子觀音, who always has plenty of children around her. She pulls out some of her own hair, and ties it round the arm or neck of a child-idol 拴童子 shuan t'ung-tsu. When she leaves she calls the spirit of this idol to follow her home. Sometimes she goes to the priest and gives him her special reasons for desiring a son, and she receives from him a *tan* 單, which document is then burnt as an offering to the idol. 842 782

Sometimes arrangements are made with a family that has plenty of children to buy from it a new-born babe, a few hundreds of taels being perhaps paid for a healthy male child. As soon as born it is carried in the night to its new mother, who goes through a feigned confinement 假裝坐月 *chia chuang tso yüeh.* The child is reared on sugar and water and other concoctions. 597 842

Families sometimes obtain a son in exchange for a girl and a liberal sum in hard cash. In such cases it is always an insult to speak of the boy as adopted.

Besides the above efforts made by the family itself to procure sons, the friends of the family may do a great deal by special presents. Thus, a melon may be placed in a chair and escorted with music, red umbrella and much ceremony to the house of the childless people. There it is put on the family altar. If a child is born later a feast must be provided for those who gave the melon, or there will be bad feeling. 842 788

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Such customs as are noted above have a great hold on otherwise quite enlightened people.

The following customs are connected with the protection of children.

If during the first month or two of the child's life it cries a great deal, this request is put out: 小兒夜哭請君念讀若還不哭請君萬福; "My little one cries in the night, will good men take note and read; if after this it does not cry may ten thousand blessings rest on you."

People who are afraid of their child becoming a priest make a priest's hat and other garments for it. They think the spirits will be thus deceived and suppose the child is a priest already.

For fear a child may not live long a ring is put round its neck and locked, *so kuan* 鎖關. This is even done to sick adults, with the idea of locking in the life that it may not leave the body.

With the same idea an old horse-shoe is made into a bangle and locked on the child's wrist—*ta ma-chang ch'üan* 打馬掌圈.

Money also is collected from many other families 化千家鎖 *hua ch'ien-chia ch'ien*, and made into a silver, iron or bronze collar, which is locked on the child's neck.

A tablet called *ch'ang-ming p'ai* 長命牌 is made up of the characters for long life, riches and honour. It may be worn suspended round the child's neck or on his cap. It is sometimes the gift of friends. A tablet with the figures of the Eighteen Lo-han is similarly worn.

A coin-shaped tablet on the cap with the Eight Diagrams 八卦 *pa kua* engraven on it is supposed to repel evil influences.

In the same way are worn the images or names of the 12 Buddhist *pratyéka* who were disciples of the goddess of Mercy 十二圓覺 *shih-êrh yüan-chüeh*; or of the twenty-eight constellations; or of the 36 or 72 famous generals who are supposed to be able to ward off demons.

An embroidered cat on the cap, with eyes and mouth facing outward, is worn to drive away demons. A monkey embroidered on the shoulder has similar virtue.

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The wearing of ear-rings is supposed to help a child to live, as giving it something extra to hold on to. 852 782

Other objects thus carried on the cap or elsewhere on the person as preservatives are the image of Lao Tzŭ, or of the Eight Immortals 八仙 *pa hsien*; or of the the character 壽 *shou* longevity, with five bats *fu*, 蝠 (symbol for happiness, punningly for 福 *fu*); or 100 silver badges with *shou* 壽, wishing the child may living 100 years; or the image of sun and moon; or that of a bald, long-bearded old man.

Another way is to tie the hand, foot or neck with red, black or green cord. The knots used may be 72 in number, 36, 28 or 12, signifying the same as in a paragraph above. These cords are also worn by adults.

Boys who are expected to be good at business, or girls who, it is hoped, will be clever at needle-work, wear respectively an abacus 算盤 *suan p'an* and scissors 剪刀 *chien tao* as badges.

The image of the god of smallpox and measles 痘母神 *tou-mu shén*, is taken from door to door in a box by a very disreputable looking person. Women offer to it shoes, rice or money, and then expect their children will not succumb to these diseases. 751 852

Bridges and stone tablets 碑 *pei* are worshipped to gain their protection for children (see chapter on Passing crises); or a willow tree; this is a cheap wood, not much wanted, and the hope is that no spirits will want the child.

The length of time during which a child is suckled is three years. Some of course do not have so long, and a few have a longer time. One man I know, over 70 and very robust, regards his present good health as due to his mother nursing him till he was over six years old. The custom of three years of mourning for a parent is based on this three years' nursing. 853

As to infanticide, 丟兒溺女 *tiu érh ni nü*: if male children are thrown out it is generally because they are illegitimate. Girls are drowned or starved by both rich and poor; by the rich, it is said, even more than by the poor. The rich suppose that a disproportionate number of girls shows the family stock is degenerating; the poor destroy 847

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CHAPTER IV

PREPARATION FOR A FUTURE LIFE. 修來世 *hsiu lai shih.*

782 THIS is also spoken of as *yin kung* 陰功 or secret merit. Secret merit is supposed not to be spoken of, and is rarely practised by people under forty, but some, after they have sown their wild oats desire to accumulate merit to counteract their evil practices; as the saying runs 一善放千惡; one good deed changes a thousand bad ones.

To set free living creatures bought for the purpose, *fang shêng* 放生, such as birds, fishes, tortoises, eels, etc., is reckoned great merit. So is the building of bridges by subscription. To repair the public roads near the home, when done out of free will is also believed to be very meritorious, but it is expected that travellers will contribute to this work, and has now come to be a respectable way of begging. This kind of work is also inflicted by law for light offences.

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735 After a man takes to begging it is difficult to get him to leave it, but it is also difficult to find one who has been born a beggar, nearly everyone having come to this state through gambling or opium.

When these beggars die they get a free coffin. When put in the coffin a basin is put under each hand and foot, and a broom under the buttocks. The basins are said to be like the hoofs of a horse, and the broom like the tail of a horse. The idea is that in this life they have done little and got much from the country, and in the next they are willing to become horses to carry government despatches.

782 212 To collect printed paper, *shou tzü-chih* 收字紙, and burn it in places built for the purpose is to accumulate merit. It is merit to collect this paper, merit to deal in it, and also to buy and burn it. A receptacle for it is hung up in almost every house and school. Men go round the streets collecting the paper from these baskets. It is reckoned very bad taste to put a book in an unclean place or dispose of waste paper in a careless fashion, because writing has been handed down from the sages. The sentence "be careful of paper with characters" is written up everywhere.

782 To gather up the dry bones dug out in the public graveyard and deposit them in the dry-bone tower; to put earth on neglected graves—a coolie being engaged to put a load or two of earth on each grave; to give away books and tracts, exhorting people to good deeds and to attend to their idolatry:—such books as the *kan ying pi'en* 感應篇 or book of rewards and punishments are freely given; to invite a man to preach the Sacred Edict at the front door of the house for the benefit of the public; to burn paper clothing and paper money to the orphan spirits in the graveyard; to light lanterns at the New Year and other times to guide the spirits home; these are all works of merit.

788 To go on a pilgrimage for the worship of Buddha, *chao shan pai Fo* 朝山拜佛, is merit. These pilgrimages are nearly all to sacred mountains, and occupy weeks, months or years. Some pilgrims go three steps then kneel down and worship, some five steps and make a bow, others crawl

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through the villages and cities on their knees. The Buddhist devotees are divided into two kinds *ta* and *êrh chü shih*, 大 and 二居士, men and women respectively. These latter are called *tao yu* 道友 or friends of the doctrine. 788

Another way is to *sung ching pai ch'an* 誦經拜懺 chant the classic of "regret for the past." It is said that chanting is a Buddhist idea, while the doctrine of repentance has its roots in Taoism. These classics and repentance odes are very plentiful. Fasting, *ch'ih chai* 喫齋 or *ch'ih su* 素, is meritorious. It means the abstaining from wine, garlic, and meats, whether for a whole lifetime or at stated times and on stated days. A person who is afraid that his family may not do enough chanting, etc., for him after he is dead has a special lot done while he is alive, and sent on ahead to await him in the next world; also lots of paper and incense are burned and deposited in the treasury of Hades. This is called *chi k'u tao ch'ang* 寄庫道場. 782

Some seek merit by issuing tracts about the protection of life, exhorting people not to throw lime in the paddy fields, because it kills the insects there; to refrain from treading on any living thing; they even exhort people to allow vermin to live on the clothing and person; also to abstain from breaking off tender twigs on trees and bushes; because there is life in them. These ideas are from the Buddhist pantheism.

People abstain from treading on anyone's shadow. To do so is to treat them lightly and it is also very unlucky. To strike a person's shadow in a vital part is reckoned to be almost as serious as to strike the person himself.

It is merit to abstain from food on a mother's birthday, because she suffered so much at one's birth. The Mohammedans fast from dawn to dusk on that day. It is great merit to go to the *nan hai p'u to* 南海普陀. This is one of the most sacred places of Buddhism, or the place where the goddess of mercy is said to have made her appearance after becoming a celestial. A Taoist idea is for a person to sit erect with legs crossed, the eye fixed on the nose, lips closed, tongue straight, and to swallow the saliva; the thoughts must be kept pure and sleep kept away; the old nature is thus cast off by the top of the head and the aspirant becomes an

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782 immortal. This is called *lien tan hsüan kung* 煉丹玄功. The body is said to have ten openings, but the one on the top of the head needs to be opened in this way before it is effectual.

* * *

EXHORTATION 說書 *shuo shu.*

792 To explain the Sacred Edict, 講聖諭 *chiang shêng yü.* The Sacred Edict originally had six chapters composed by the emperor Shun-chih 順治, but it was enlarged and edited by his successor K'ang-hsi, and now contains sixteen chapters. Before the exhorter begins his works a tablet has to be erected on which are engraved the two characters Shêng yü. Candles are lighted on either side and in front, paper and incense are also burned before the tablet; the exhorter then bows three times, and knocks his head nine times to the ground before he begins to talk. The custom is to pay 100 cash for each chapter explained, and three chapters are generally gone over each evening. This money is generally paid by rich people in order to accumulate merit; not uncommonly a rich farmer or wealthy merchant invites an exhorter to his house for this purpose. At its beginning this practice may have been better than it now is; unfortunately the wicked lives of many of these men does much to nullify their words; and their exhortation is no longer confined to the doctrines contained in the Sacred Edict, but is largely made up of old wives' fables, and local and provincial scandals.

Many preachers of the Sacred Edict also use the method of exhortation by proverbs, *chiang kê yen* 講格言. There is a slight resemblance to, and connection with, the Sacred Edict, but most of the incidents are taken from the law courts, or scandals in business and private circles.

533 Men walk through the streets and sing ballads of a national or amorous character, *ch'ang shan shu* 唱善書. The idea is generally to procure travelling expenses for themselves or others to some distant place

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787 To inquire of the celestials as to whether the position of the ancestral graves is lucky or not, or as to the best site and position of a proposed new family dwelling, is called *ch'a nien fing shui* (查驗風水). This is done by covering the head and inviting the spirits to make a revelation.

789 *Ta t'ai p'ing pao fu* (打太平保福) is a noisy ceremony at which many of the practices given under sorcery are used before a woman's confinement to ensure a safe delivery. It includes bringing the boxes, *la hsiang tsü* (拉箱子). An actor is brought to the house with all his paraphernalia, he dresses as a woman, has his face powdered and painted, after which he jumps and dances in the chief rooms of the house. In some families a stage is erected in an adjoining field for the occasion.

Chuai ssü niang tsü (踹私娘子), to act the celestial women of the house. These are the *t'ien hsien niang* (天仙) and the *ti hsien niang* (地仙), who are believed to be able to protect life and property and add years to the lives of those in the house. A skilled actor, dressed like a woman, walks and minces up and down the house. At the close of the performance a feast is spread and the actors drink freely of wine and sing lewd songs. This last part is called *p'ei hua* (陪花), to entertain the flower, or the impersonated woman. For this performance the actors are liberally paid. Such performances are almost wholly confined to the well-to-do baser sort.

782 *Ching t'an* (靖壇), to pacify the altar of the lemuria. Some families have a *t'an shên* (壇神) and some have none, but those who have are generally of a low and superstitious character. This altar is generally located on the left-hand side of the chief room of the house. The tablet is sometimes written and at others carved. The families who trace their ancestry from the province of Kiangsi have the altar hung up in a basket on the left-hand side of the heaven and earth tablet. The pacification of this spirit takes place once every three or five years, unless a change is made in the residence. In this ceremony all the practices of ordinary divination are used with many additions, and the ceremony is much

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more complicated. A very little of each of the following articles is permanently deposited under the stone on which the tablet rests;—gold, silver, iron, brass, salt, tea, rice and beans. The feast may last for days, and two or three pigs may be killed for the occasion, but I have noticed that families who make much of this altar soon come to poverty. The following are some of the gods of this altar of the lemuria:

The general of the gods of the lemuria. The two lieutenants. The female general of the altar. The twelve flowery women who rule the women of the house for the year, each ruling one month. The three braves who fight for the family. Lo Kung of great mesmeric fame. Thousands of thousands of soldiers and horses. Myriads of myriads of leaders of spirits. The guardian of the east and west granaries. The governor of the tea and wine shops. The guardian of the farmyard.

When the altar is being pacified the gods of the cow, horse, sheep, chicken, dog, pig and cats have all to be dealt with and pacified. For this an animal-skin or an imitation animal is produced, someone gets inside it and imitates the cry of the animal.

Pa man chin pao yu ssŭ, 八滿進寶游司. This is the guardian of the family wealth and is one of the gods of wealth, which are thus included in the altar. The Tibetans are mentioned because they are supposed to abound in the precious metal and the number eight is a lucky one, hence the saying, 要得發不離八, if a thing is to prosper you can't do without the number eight.

Conjuring (耍把戲).

Tight-rope walking is common, *ch'ai so ch'iao* (蹅索橋). The rope may be a hundred feet long and fifty above the ground. The performer is a girl of about ten, who carries a sandbag in each hand.

A woman stands on her head on a table and balances a wine cask first on one foot and then on the other, *têng t'an tzŭ* (登罈子). Sometimes a child is put inside the cask and crawls out and sits on the top of it while it is balanced in the air.

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If a chicken goes on the roof, it is very unlucky and a sign that fire is likely to come, owing to the red on the rooster's neck, which is like fire. The chicken when caught is beheaded, and the head thrown over the roof of the house; some will not even eat the chicken for fear of fire.

To spill oil or alcohol in the house or on the street is believed to be very unlucky and a certain sign that fire will break out. Any coolie spilling oil on the street is fined or his oil confiscated to pay the expense of pacifying the fire demon.

Rooks chattering in the night is said to be a sign of fire. Sometimes the rooks are driven away, but never killed, as they are reckoned to be very lucky birds.

Rats removing their young from a house, a snake twisting round a bamboo to get to the sun, a shower of meteors or a meteor falling are signs that fire is likely to break out. In order to drive away the fire demon the following black arts are resorted to :—

Shua shui lung, to play the water dragon. The dragon is made of a plaited bamboo framework about one foot in diameter and perhaps 21 feet long. Each family prepares a bucket of water and throws it over the dragon to drown the fire demon.

Ch'ien sung huo hsing, to take away the fire star. This is supposed to be the planet Mars, which is also said to be the star of evil rumours. When this affair is carried out in detail many of the ceremonies of the former fire and pestilence ritual are gone through.

Ta wên chiao, to pacify the pestilence god. In times of cholera the people became very excited and everything possible is done to appease and deceive the demon. They even go to the length of having the New Year in the middle of summer. The fresh door-gods are put on the doors, new scrolls are written and pasted on the door posts, the idols worshipped and incense burned, with the idea of cheating the demon and making it believe that it is midwinter and thus cool weather.

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A dragon made of light bamboo covered with green cloth is carried through the streets and into the homes of the people; each family receives it with incense, candles and paper, while the men who parade it are rewarded with money. Many of the incantations and ritual given under the fire and epidemic fast are practised in this also.

Again an epidemic boat is made, with a man *shao kung* (艄公) at the bows and a woman, *shao p'o*, to steer, while in the centre of the boat sits the demon. The beard of the fire demon is red, while that of the pestilence demon is green. The god of the pestilence is said to have been K'ang t'ien chün, whose tablet is as follows: 當年行瘟天子至德尊神. To the god of pestilence who governs the current year.

A fast of praying to heaven is held, *Lo* (羅) *t'ien* or *Ch'i* (祈) *t'ien ta chiao*, in times of distress or at regular intervals from three to fifteen years in different cities. When the fast is proclaimed it is generally a very rigid one, with much ritual, sorcery and chanting, and may last from seven to fifty days. During the recent rebellion, before the establishment of the republic, this fast was proclaimed in many places to ask for protection from the government soldiers.

Huang ch'ung (蝗蟲) *chiao* is a fast held in the country to keep the locusts and caterpillars from the crops. If this fast is held in a temple the local precinct god is notified by the burning of incense and putting up of fresh scrolls at his shrine. Five-coloured flags are put up at the corners of the field; this is said to be equivalent to invitation to the rooks to come and devour the pests. The old custom of walking round the fields beating a gong or drum is still to be found; it is said that the caterpillars fall to the ground at the sound. Farmers say that one of the chief benefits of a heavy thunderstorm is to make these pests drop off by the thousand.

Fasts for Rain and Fine Weather, (祈晴禱雨) *Chi ch'ing tao yü*

In times of drought or very wet weather the official issues a proclamation forbidding the butcher to kill pigs or oxen, chin tu (禁屠). The idea is that the taking of life is an offence against the gods.

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In times of drought an altar is put up at the Lung Wang miao, the temple of the dragon king. In times of flood it is erected at the Huo shên miao, the temple of the god of fire. At this altar the district magistrate makes obeisance morning and night.

When fasting for fine weather the north gate of the city is closed; when fasting for rain, the south gate; because it is said in the eight diagrams, the North belongs to water and the South to fire.

To shoot the mists, ta wu (打霧). In times of continued wet weather, soldiers are told of to shoot at the mists. The people put great faith in this practice.

In wet weather the official has to worship the sun tablet in some temple, and all the people have to worship a tablet to this luminary at the doors of their dwellings.

In times of drought the Dragon king is worshipped and each home has a tablet put up beseeching his help; also the water dragon is brought out. This is a plaited bamboo frame joined together with sackcloth, which is paraded through the streets by young men; each house prepares a bucket of water and a ladle and as the dragon passes it is drenched with water. Another method is to *hsiao kou*, to laugh at the dog. The custom has its origin in the saying, if you laugh at a dog the weather won't be fine. In times of desperation for lack of rain, a dog is dressed up as a bride, put in a chair and carried through the streets and every one laughs at it, hoping that by doing so rain may come.

Officials go barefooted and pray for rain; this is said to be an example of an official suffering for his people.

In some cases the Ch'êng huang or city god is stood in the sun. I have known of the district magistrate getting angry at the prolongation of the drought and demanding that the city god give him an explanation; he said, "You govern the dead, and I the living; let us both stand in the sun and the one whose head splits first must bear the blame of the drought." The result was that the idol's head was cracked by the sun.

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Men also go to the dragon pool and carry home a bucketful of water, which is worshipped at the altar. At the pool a chicken is sacrificed and its head thrown to the dragon. On the return journey twigs are stuck into the hair of those who go on this errand.

The *pang* (蚌) *pang yü* or *wa* (娃) *wa yü*, is a human-headed fish, a kind of mermaid; it is caught and kept in a tank of water till the rain comes. This is a rare fish, but it has come under my notice on two or three occasions, when thousands of people have run mad after the creature.

When the magistrate is not in favour with the people, they may attack the yamen and demand water for fields or rain.

Another method is to throw the egg. A water butt is prepared and filled with water, and decked round with cedar and willow branches. An egg is selected, over which "thunder" incantations are read morning and evening for three days, after which it is thrown up into the air with the belief that the rain will accompany it on its downfall.

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On entering a tea-shop it is very unlucky to upset your own tea or to see a tea-cup upset by another.

Boatmen, when starting on a journey, always choose a lucky day for the crew to come on board, the sacrifice to be made and the boat started. The sacrificial chicken is intoxicated before it is killed, wine being poured down its gullet; when slain, the blood is sprinkled on the prow of the boat and the feathers stuck to it as a witness of the transaction. On the journey demons are seen in the head winds and adverse currents, and when it is difficult to pull the boat over a rapid; rice is then thrown overboard to feed the hungry ghosts. The boatmen will rarely tell you how far they are from a certain place, lest the demons should know of their whereabouts, while the distance is generally given as so many stages. They will never tell you where they intend to stay for the night or how far away is an anchorage, lest the demons should waylay them. The custom of boatmen whistling and howling for the wind is a curious one and probably has to do with the idea that the spirits are in the wind and are helping them. In the bottom of each boat there is one division lower than the others, called the *t'ai p'ing ts'ang*, into which all the leakage water in the bottom of the boat is expected to flow, to be ladled out into the river; no one may shout or swear while in this division lest the boat should be wrecked. The words *kuai* (拐), and *ch'iung* (倾), are used to take the places of *huai* (壞), wreck, and *tao* (倒), to empty out. The exact number of trackers should never be counted for fear it should bring disaster. Boatmen never tread on the front of the boat, and care should be taken to avoid this as much as possible by any one. Boatmen always sleep across the boat and never dress standing on their bedding.

Woodmen employed in the forest never call any of their comrades by name before breakfast. Nor are they called to breakfast lest one of them should be called upon to die before the evening. Anyone daring to dress standing on his bed, or knocking his chopsticks together may be fined to the extent of food and tea for a meal, as these things indicate that the axe-head may slip off and kill someone. The water in which

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitions and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways. 796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotze and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers. 751 782

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Yo Yueh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the ban, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements begun to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of [illegible]se Drugs(11) 203 757 278 278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

482 coolies take care of the lesser freight transport. They carry their burdens piled high on their shoulders. The carrying of larger burdens on horizontal spring poles as is customary in lower China, for example in Hu pe etc., is done only among individual itinerant craftsmen and specialists that come from a specific region of China and overflow into the western borderlands.

In Romi Tschanggu I had refused to ask the yamen for ula. I felt that it was not right for me as a foreigner to demand it. But the difficulties of the road piled up to such an extent that I very much regretted having been so considerate. The road was in much poorer condition than people had admitted and on the way I could get help for only short stretches and at high prices. I had so many accidents that finally I indicated those dates in my diary on which I did not experience some major mishap. It was also practically impossible to buy straw for the animals. And from the corn flour alone which we had to feed them, they developed colic. Thus, on June 16, I lost a horse from colic and barely cured two others.

• 782 During the night of the sixteenth and seventeenth an extremely heavy thunderstorm with a cloud burst descended on the valley. The echo of the thunderclaps in among the high rock walls would not cease and from all sides came the deluge. In an hour the river rose nearly one and one-half meters. The natives - I was staying with Chinese who lived in small huts by the wayside - lit their incense candles and stuck them on their door posts. In the short intervals between the thunder-claps their "crackers" could be heard incessantly and a thousand times they called out the name "Yü hwang ye" through the open door.

731 On the morning of the seventeenth we had scarcely gone two kilometers when the high muddy waves of the swollen Hsiao Kin tschuan Ho blocked our way inexorably. Waves one and one-half meters high flowed over the narrow path at the foot of steep valley walls. In an attempt to brave the obstacle, our guide barely escaped being washed away by the current, along with one of the horses. It meant waiting until the water had gone down, and since I had not been able to replenish my horse fodder at the last encampment, I stayed in my tent with the packs by the side of the river and sent Skewliu and Dardyi back empty to the Tschortensa gomba monastery which I had passed two days earlier (Plate LIII).

On June 18 the water rose even higher although meanwhile good weather had set in and the thermometer rose to +34° at noon. In the